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AUTHOR Skavery, Stanley
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ABSTRACT

The development of adult education in the Detroit area during the years 1875-1932 was intimately tied to the social, political, and economic events of that time span. Data gleaned from census records, Board of Education minutes, old maps, street guides, labor legislation, educational legislation, church records, advertisements, alien registrations, financial records, and political election results provide insight into the trends of the times that influenced the growth of adult education. For example, the tides of immigrants--first German, then Irish, later Polish--that poured into the city in the late 1800s to work in the automobile factories necessitated the formation of "naturalization" and "Americanization" schools. These schools became organized after the turn of the century, from earlier fragmentary beginnings, with the creation of adult evening schools in Detroit. Especially influential in the growth of these evening schools was Frank Cody, general supervisor of adult education for the Detroit Public School System. Another pervasive influence in adult education in Detroit was the Catholic Church, which operated adult education programs, including colleges, and whose history in the city is entwined with the growth of the adult education movement. (Further research into historical records of the city and the Church is suggested to provide a more complete picture of the history of adult education in Detroit.) (KC)

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History of the Adult Education Program of the City of Detroit

Stanley Skavery
47471 Chrys
Utica, MI 48087

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Dr. Fredrick Columbus' book entitled "The History and Development of Public School Adult and Community Education in Michigan 1875-1977;" just scratches the surface in addressing the historical evolution of the adult education concept in the Detroit Public School System. Moreover, it ignores for the most part the linkages that exist between the private educational sectors (i.e., Archdiocese of Detroit) and the public sectors (i.e., Detroit Public School System) and their historical origins.

A limited cadre of research exists that investigates the historical development of adult education in the Detroit area as it relates to the interrelationships that exist between the public and Catholic schools. Moreover, no known study is available that focus upon each of these sectors (Private and Public) and how they relate to one another and to Adult Education.

The proposed research will be a study of the historical development of adult education in the Detroit area during the time span 1875-1932.

Subsumed under this broad question are specific questions relevant to a better understanding of the people, time and issues playing a role in the development of adult education in the Detroit area during the years 1875-1932. Some of the more logical questions that will be studied include: What were the demographics during the period? Who were the people and what was their background? Where did they settle and what were their educational needs? What were the linkages, if any, they existed between the Detroit Public Schools and Archdiocese of Detroit? What historical factors and/or forces, if any, could be identified that might prove predictive of the current adult education scene in Detroit?

An abundance of data can be gleaned from census records, Board of Education minutes, old maps, street guides, labor legislation, education legislation,

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Church records (i.e., baptisms, marriages, confirmations), advertisements, alien registrations, financial records and political elections results (i.e., ward captains).

As a result, a comprehensive overview of the people, time, places and issues that played a part in the development of adult education in the Detroit area from 1875-1932 will be garnered. Moreover, the proposed study will serve to supplant some of the missing parts of the puzzle comprising the growth and development of adult education in the Detroit area. Indeed, the proposed study will serve as a source for further research, historical and otherwise, pertinent to the relationships linking the public and private sectors of Education in Detroit with the concept of adult education.

In the context of my paper I've made no attempt to formulate an all encompassing definition for the term "adult education." Rather, I've opted to describe the concept from its historical inception in the City of Detroit's public and Catholic school systems during the years 1875 to 1932. Thus, viewed from these two very distinct but interwoven perspectives, it will become clear that the concept of adult education has its foundation in the needs of adults. This was true back in the 18th century and is still true today. Moreover, the term adult education is akin to other noteworthy ideas and practices that are difficult to define such as: democracy, justice, and freedom.

> "In complexity, adult education traverses every degree from the most simple to the most advanced. In purpose, adult education traverses every degree from education as an end in itself to education solely as a means to other ends...adult education implies purposeful systematic learning, in contrast to random unexamined experience; that is, it contains elements of science and art...adult education implies a respect for the purposes and integrity of the learner, in contrast to attempts to fool, cheat or exploit; that is, it has an ethic."[1]

Suffice it to say that the matter of defining the term adult education precisely suggests, in part, that the term emerged through an evolutionary process rather than as a carefully planned stroke of genius. Nevertheless, for the context of my paper I have treated the term adult education as synonymous with the words: Americanization, Americanization Schools, Evening Schools, Night Schools, and Evening Classes.

The history of education nationally, as well as in the City of Detroit, can be traced in the story of its social circumstances. Consequently, the forms which education takes, the types, their content, as well as their target population, are determined by the needs which change manifests. Thus, the tremendous expansion from 1875 to 1932 is a direct response of American society which change has brought about. Moreover, adult education has proven to be as essential to a properly functioning society as machines are to the manufacturing of automobiles.

During the years 1875-1932 thousands of institutions, private and public, engaged in the education of adults. Indeed, a number of new and diverse institutional forms of adult education were either created or became firmly established including: correspondence schools, summer schools, junior colleges, settlement houses, social service agencies, parks and recreation centers, and vocational voluntary associations.

Adult education content shifted from general knowledge to specialized areas of emphasis such as: vocational education, citizenship and Americanization, the education of women, civic and social reform, public affairs, leisure-time activity, and health. Adult education focused on the pressing needs of this era of industrialization, immigration, emancipation, urbanization, and national maturation.

This period of time saw an increased interest and participation by government in the development of adult educational opportunities. At the federal level this was evidenced by the establishment of a Department of Education, passage of the Smith-Lever Act creating the Cooperative Extension Service, and passage of the Smith-Hughes Vocational Act. At the state level it was typlified by the passage of permissive legislation in a number of states and provisions of direct financial aid in a few as well as the creation of service bureaus for adult education in the departments of education in three states. Locally, it was evidenced by increasing support for evening schools, libraries, museums, and county agricultural extension work.[2]

> "...the general trend toward increasing use of the evening schools can be demonstrated by enrollment figures from a sample of cities. In Cleveland, for example, enrollment increases from 135 in 1851 to 1,982 in 1889, 5,031 in 1909, and 11,383 in 1915. In Chicago, enrollment grew from 208 in 1857 to 1,591 in 1865, 6,965 in 1883, 14, 530 in 1893, and 27,987 in 1913. Los Angeles evening schools opening in 1887 with an enrollment of 30 students and by 1901 had grown to only 235; but by 1911 enrollment had increased to 3,414, by 1916 to 22,080, and by 1920 to 32,874. This pattern of gradual growth continued until the turn of the century and then a rapidly rising curve was repeated in most large cities of the country."[3]

The early evening schools focused their attention almost entirely on the basic subjects of the primary grades. It wasn't until close to the turn of the 19th century that four clear directions could be discerned.

1. The expansion of Americanization programs for immigrants.
2. The expansion of vocational courses in trade and commercial subjects.
3. The extension into secondary and college level subjects with the opening of evening high schools.
4. Experimental sorties into informal adult education.[4]

> "Religious development was characterized by a steady increase in non-Protestant institutions, especially Catholic and Jewish,

> the emergence of a 'social gospel' that brought the power of the church to bear on social problems, and a liberalizing theological upheaval caused largely by the surge of scientific knowledge- particularly regarding evolution. The growth heterogeneity of American religious life tended to reinforce the determination to maintain the separation of church and state. By 1900 the prohibition against using public funds for sectarian schools and against teaching sectarian religions in public schools had been widely confirmed by state contitutions, statutes, and court decisions."[5]

During the years between the Civil War and World War I the United States experienced a tremendous physical and intellectual growth. Its geographic boundaries expanded to the shores of both oceans and from Canada to Mexico. The country's population expanded from just over thirty million in 1860 to well over one hundred million by 1920. A large proportion of this population expansion was the result of immigrants pouring into our country from almost every corner of the globe. Indeed, their integration into the great melting pot called America became one of the great adult education challenges ever faced.

The expansion had a dramatic effect on the country's economic system. Although agricultural productivity increased dramatically it was far surpassed by the explosive growth of industry. "Indeed, during this period the character of the nation changed in essence from agrarian to industrial. And with this transformation, the character of American education was forced to change."[6]

The nerve system of the country became increasingly centered in the cities. By the 1920 census over half the population of the United States lived in cities which resulted in a new set of problems and a new way of life. The federal government emerged from the Civil War favoring big business, efficient and centralized government, and a commitment to a strong and unified nation.

World War I forced the U.S. into a somewhat awkward position. Both economically and culturally we had evolved into a first rate world power. As a consequence we could no longer avoid responsibility in world affairs. We had in a sense come of age.

The political process following the Civil War saw a broadening of democratization as evidenced by the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery. The Fourteenth Amendment conferring citizenship on all persons born or naturalized in the United States, the Fifteenth Amendment prohibiting the states from abridging the rights of citizens to vote because of race, color, or previous conditions of servitude, the Seventeenth Amendment making Senators elective by popular vote, and the Nineteenth Amendment extending the suffrage to women.

> "While the dominating spirit of the adult education movement up to the Civil War had been the diffusion of knowledge, that of the period between the Civil War and World War I might be characterized as the diffusion of organizations...Most of the types of institutions providing educational opportunities to adults in our day trace their birth to this era."[7]

The Smith-Lever Act was passed and signed by President Wilson in May of 1914, establishing the Cooperative Extension Service. The Act provided that upon the presentation of a satisfactory state plan, each state was to receive $10,000 in federal funds each year, with additional amounts added in proportion to the size of its rural population. In addition, the law provided that each land grant college would create a separate extension division and that federal leadership would be provided by a separate office of extension work in the Department of Agriculture.

> "...with the passage of an act by Congress in 1917 adding the requirement of literacy for naturalization. In 1918 Congress authorized the Federal Immigration and Naturalization Service to cooperate with the public schools both by sending them identifying information about applicants for naturalization, and by preparing citizenship textbooks and supplying these without cost to the schools."[8]

In 1917 Congress passed the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act making available federal funds, to be matched by state funds, to promote the teaching of courses in agriculture, home economics, trades, industries, and commerce in public schools. The Act also created the Federal Board for Vocational Education to supervise the program.

Historically, public school education has been built on the concept of meeting individual needs. Many early programs were planned to meet needs for remedial education but others were based on an individual's need for increased vocational or civic competence.

The latter part of the 19th and early 20th century brought a heavy wave of immigrants to meet the needs of the factories and the need to read in order to become citizens. Americanization classes were set up in most large cities. The immigrants also sought to develop literacy skills that were job related.

> "Virtually all immigrants made valiant efforts to reconstruct the old communities on the soil of the New World. True, the setting was different; but group after group expressed the longing to perpetuate the forms and to preserve the values which seemed to extend from far back in the past. Even handfuls of conscious and deliberate rebels who accompanied the larger streams of peasants and artisans were guided by visions formed in the Old World...The great mass of newcomers could not allow the coming to America to extinguish their heritage."[9]

The compulsion to re-establish the old community was as fundamental and characteristic of the earliest immigrant as it is today. Indeed, in the very first generation of Puritan settlement in New England, the cry was already heard concerning the need to preserve the manners and habits of the past.

> "Historians have rarely perceived the tenacious grip on the inherited culture of the old community. In the 1840's and 1850's, for instance, the clusters of new England settlements across the country formed links in a chain that held together the reform movements of the period. One of the significant aspects

> of reform in those decades was precisely the effort to preserve the values of the Puritan community under the changing conditions of American society. These agitations often reveal an anxiety about the future and an intention to guard, even if in new forms, the ideals of the past- concerns that also emerge later in the prohibition crusade and account for the intensity with which that issue was debated in the 1920's and 1930's."[10]

> "So too the negativism and intolerance of the immigration restriction movement of nativism in general become more comprehensible when viewed in the light of the motives of Americans anxious to prevent their world from changing. Narrow nationalism of this sort was the refuge of men frustrated in the effort to restore the old community. It had numerous counterparts among other American groups; Fenianism and Zionism and a host of similar quests for a homeland embodied the same need for a community to which to belong."[11]

The immigrants in the United States could not restore the community destroyed by their migration. Consequently, they established a variety of organizations to replace it. Mutual assistance, fraternal, religious, and cultural associations supplied them in a fragmentary way with the services the community had performed back home. These organizations have proven to be both durable and of a wider import than is commonly thought. They have proven durable in the sense that they continued to serve a function long after the disappearance of the original immigration group. Moreover, they have carried over from the second generation in most groups to play an important role in the lives of the third generation and beyond.[12]

The immigrant who entered the industrial labor force was not simply oppressed by relatively low wages or by long and difficult working conditions. Nor, in settling in an urban place was he troubled solely by the physical problems of adjustment. Slums, new habits dictated by life under congested circumstances, the change from living conditions of the countryside that sapped his health; these were all matters of grave concern to him. But alas, they were only a part of the problem.

To the newcomers, life in the cities and labor in the manufacturing factories seemed to negate their qualities as human beings. However harsh their existence may have been back home; they had been sustained by a community within which they have lived a way of life that was comprehensible in its own terms. All the incidents of the year's labor back home had possessed a meaning and had accorded them a personal satisfaction, conditioned on no external criteria and validated by the harmony with the world that was their own way from birth to death.

The factory destroyed that. It introduced a new and impersonal relationship between employee and employer. It subjected the laborer to a routine that took no account of his individuality and treated him as a piece of machinery less valuable then those of iron and more easily replaced.

Most importantly perhaps, the activities of the factory were intrinsically meaningless. Often, the laborer had only an approximate impression of the end-product he toiled to produce and rarely did he understand his relationship to it. In time he grasped the central fact of industrialism- that the value of work was not a factor of its productiveness but rather of an inexplicable process that led some men to success and other to dismal failure. By the same token the city was frightening in its anonymity, for in its grip men were easily overwhelmed by the fear of being lost in the shuffle. Indeed, it seemed unlike and unrelated to any semblance of reality they had earlier known.

> "...The violence and irrational bitterness that then became endemic in American industrial life owed much to the awareness that more was at stake than wages or hours of work. From Homestead to Paterson to Lawrence, the men who resorted to strikes against their employers were aggrieved by the denial of their human dignity."[13]

One can begin to sense the disruptive effects of the breakdown of the community. In family life and in the economy the isolation of the individual,

the steady errosion of traditional functions, and the unyielding pressures of new conditions formed a situation which many of the characteristic traits of American society were molded.

> "...only so long as a tightly knit community life was maintained was effective oversight of the cultural life of the people possible; and that was but rarely achieved except by such millennialist sects as the seventeenth-century Puritans, the Pennsylvania Amish, and the Rappites."[14]

Perhaps a nation of immigrants was necessarily too much preoccupied with its own quest for identity and tradition to be aware of the fact that its only identity derived from the diversity of its origin and that its only tradition was that of ceaseless change.

> "To recall that these immense accomplishments were rooted in tragic origins, were accompanied by the disruption of traditional communities, and were paid for in heavy human costs is to add the dimension of grandeur to American history."[15]

What were some of the turbulant forces that operated to drive all these people out of Europe?

1. The prevailing rural poverty of the village economy of Europe.
2. The impact of agricultural Europe of industrialization.
3. The barbarites of labor conditions in the new industrial towns.
4. The prevalence of political inequalities among the masses of the population in contrast to the privileged classes.
5. The pietistic rebellions against the state churches and the rise of new sects, such as the Mormons.
6. Direct religious persecution (i.e., Jews).
7. Compulsory military service.
8. Promotional activities of agents of steamship companies.
9. The effectiveness of immigrant letters.
10. The influence of returned immigrants.

11. Immigrant guidebooks to overseas territories (i.e., U.S.).
12. The "herd instinct" which took hundreds of families and individuals along with the groups, people who by themselves would not ordinarily have had the courage to leave their accustomed environment.

On the otherhand there were forces that drew people out of Europe including:

1. Land
2. Labor shortage
3. More liberal constitutional political system
4. Social equalitarianism of the new lands
5. Religious and social utopianism
6. Gold fever
7. Propaganda of official governmental agencies such as state immigration bureaus.
8. The promotional activities of railraods
9. Letters from immigrant-receiving countries enclosing financial assistance to help finance emigration of relatives and friends.
10. The rapid establishment and spread of immigrant-American communities which formed points of destination and constituted transitional havens enabling the emigrants to continue for a while in familiar patterns of life until the absorption into the new societies could be carried through, usually in a generation or two. These two cultures were highly useful and important in the acculturation process.[16]

Suffice it to say that during the years 1875 to 1932 our country experienced a World War, a great depression, a tremendous influx of immigrants, and a rapidly accelerating pace of change in technology, economics, political, and cultural affairs. Nonetheless, adult education became an integral part of the American way of life. Whereas before 1920 the term "adult education" did not appear even in the professional educational vocabulary, we have seen the term and concept evolve into an educational field.

> "The coming of the automobile industry disrupted Detroit's social patterns; stretched its boundaries, crowded its housing, created new sanitary, health, and education crises, but also, brought fabulous wealth to the city. A basic industry as all-pervasive as vehicle manufacturing was to Detroit affected the social and political character of the city, influenced its language and metaphors, the topics and subjects of its newspapers and magazines, and ultimately was reflected in some law enforcement practices."[17]

The city underwent dramatic demographic changes. The new jobs in the automobile factories acted as a powerful magnet to newcomers. On the eve of the manufacturing boom in 1904, the foreign-born constituted nearly one-third of Detroit's population, among whom were 13,000 Poles, 1,300 Russians, and 904 Italians. Indeed, the 1901 foreign-born population of 156,365 nearly doubled to 289,297 in 1920. The state of Michigan as a whole experienced a population surge of 857,049 during the same decade, of which more than two-thirds occurred within the Detroit city limits. By 1925 the foreign-born comprised nearly one-half of Detroit's 1,242,044 people, with the Poles leading the list with 115,069. Italians then numbered 42,457, Russians 49,427, and from almost a zero base-line Hungarians had grown to 21,656. Thus whereas the City of Detroit had grown by 248,305 people between 1920 and 1925, the foreign-born population had increased by about 244,000 according

to the school board enumeration. Moreover, the statistics showed that between 1920 and 1925 the city's population growth can be attributed almost in its entirety to the increase in foreign-born. The number of Polish-born alone in the city doubled in five years.[18]

The pressures for Americanization began earlier in Detroit than in the nation generally. The primary stimulus was the high unemployment rate during the winters of 1914-1915 when it was discovered that more than 60% of the supplicants for work or aid at the Detroit Board of Commerce employment service were non-English speakers. Needless to say, instruction in the English language became the focal point of the Americanization program.

> "Motor magnates argued that the accident rates would be lowered, ethnic tensions would deminish, and industrial efficiency would increase. The Ford Motor Company's English school was concerned with more than simply imparting a new language to foreigners, however; the educational program there instructed the newcomer to 'walk to the American blackboard, take a piece of American chalk, and explain how the American workman walks to his home and sits down with his American family to their good American dinner.' Adopting acceptable and respectable middle-class attitudes and habits was also a vital part of the movement."[19]

Detroit was a highly industrialized blue-collar city whose base line had been low in 1910 and progressively sagged lower as the foreign-born and factory workers grew in number. R.D. McKenzie's data for 1910 to 1930 led him to believe that "...the overwhelming dominance of a single heavy industry with low skill requirements had a significant and measurable impact upon Detroit's population structure and character. Detroit was much more a working class city than its size would have suggested."[20]

The rise of mass production had a noticeable effect on the City of Detroit's craft unions. The great influx of eastern European workers, mostly with agricultural background and no union experience, together with

dramatic technological changes in automobile manufacturing had a debilitating effect upon the older crafts and skills. As a consequence, many of the older skills became obsolete with the advancing technology.

In the automobile industry, which employed the largest share of industrial labor, jobs were broken down into their component parts, the tasks separated, and the skills required for performing the task greatly simplified.

It's important to recognize that the automobile industry brought to Detroit a sharply fluctuating business cycle. Detroit began exagerating the peaks and troughs experienced by the national economy. The short-range fluctuations were attributable to the production rhythms of an industry that shut down yearly for a model changover which resulted in mass layoffs.

It didn't take long for Detroiters to discover that automobile sales were extremely sensitive to consumer attitudes and income. Moreover, slight changes in these could have a devastating effect in the salesroom as well as on the assembly line.

> "No such transition from extreme depression to the greatest activity ever before occurred in the history of Detroit as in the months from April to October, 1915.
>
> In April the Board of Commerce was just closing its self-imposed task of finding work for a host of the unemployed. At the opening of the year a large proportion of the factories were running on short time, and thousands of willing and capable men were seeking work in vain...
>
> Six months later there was a striking contrast in conditions. There was an actual scarcity of various kinds of skilled labor and no surplus of common labor. Some of the factories were running overtime, more men were employed than ever before, and no one who was able and willing to work needed to be out of a job."[21]

The fall of 1914 found Detroit suffering from an acute influx of immigration. The city had more immigrant workers than it could handle and

as a consequence 80,000 men lost their jobs and throngs of jobless wandered through the streets. The Detroit Board of Commerce came to the aid of many and was successful in the cases of laborers who could speak English. Unfortunately, 60,000 men who could not speak English remained unemployed.

> "...the Board of Commerce found the germ of the trouble. They learned that most of the unemployment was due to the inability of foreign laborers to fit American jobs, which was due primarily, of course, to their inability to understand English."[22]

As a consequence, a cooperative effort between the Board of Commerce and the Detroit Board of Education was initiated whereby night schools were opened to help the foreign-born learn English. The Board of Education had been trying in vain for several years to work with manufacturers who employed foreign labor. As a result of their joint effort, in the winter of 1914-1915, the task of Americanizing Detroit began in earnest.[23]

The combined efforts and promotion of the Detroit Board of Commerce, manufacturers, and the Detroit Board of Education came about despite a long delayed recognition of the importance of having English speaking employees. Moreover, as time passed it became more and more evident that the notion of inducing laborers to go to night school and learn English would pay dividends in the long run.

> "The employers, who had learned their lesson in the terrible winter of 1914-1915, were not slow to respond. They met the investigators of the Board of Commerce and of the Committee for Immigrants in America, and suggested means of making it practical for the workers in their factories to go to school.
>
> In all factories posters were placed on bulletin boards urging the men to go to school in order to become better citizens and get better jobs. In all factories slips bearing similar advice were inserted in pay envelopes... department stores put slips of information about the night schools in the packages of every customer who looked like a foreigner, ministers preached 'Americanization' in the churches of the foreign quarters, and the editors of foreign newspapers harped on the same key in editorial addresses to their people. Whenever an Italian or Polish young women drew a book from the

public library she found therein one of the ubiquitous slips telling her how her friends who knew no English might learn it free."[24]

The result of all this community activity was that the Detroit night schools opened on Monday, September 13, 1915, with an attendance increase over the previous record by one hundred and fifty three percent. This did not take into account the thousands who were turned away due to overflowing classes.

The Packard Motor Company jolted the entire industry when it announced on January 31, 1916:

> "Promotions to positions of importance in the organization of this company will be given only to those who are native born or naturalized citizens of the United States, or to those of foreign birth who have relinquished their foreign citizenship, and who have filed with our Government their first papers applying for citizenship, which application for citizenship must be diligently followed to its completion."[25]

As with the establishment of many adult education institutions, World War I produced one of the major innovations in Catholic adult education.

> "In 1917 the National Catholic Welfare Council was founded to promote the spiritual and material welfare of the United States troops during the war...and to study, coordinate, unify, and put in operation all Catholic activities incidental to the war.' In 1919 the Council was transformed into a permanent organization to serve as the official agency of the Hierarchy of the United States for the promotion of broad religious, educational, and social interests of the American people."[26]

The National Catholic Welfare Council (NCWC) sponsored a number of adult education programs including a Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems, Social Action Schools for priests, Catholic Labor Schools, and an Institute on International Relations. In addition, the NCWC provided articles and discussion outlines in each month's issue of its periodical, Catholic Action. The confraternity of Christial Doctrine also promoted religious discussion groups for adults and religious education of children by parents in the home.

The NCWC granted a high degree of autonomy to each local diocese in carrying out the directives of the Church via the Encyclical Letters (i.e., Christian Education of Youth, Christian Marriage, Reconstruction of the Social Order by Pope Pius XI, and The Condition of Labor of Pope Leo XIII) and the program of the American Hierarchy and its national agencies.

> "In the final analysis the character and extent of adult education in any community was dependent upon the interest and skill of its priests. Accordingly, there was a wide variation across the country in Catholic adult education."[27]

The Church's role in the realm of adult education was traditionally limited largely to indoctrination in the precepts and tenets of particular faiths. In the Catholic Church the chief vehicle for the education of adults continued to be the pulpit and the liturgy.

Malcolm MacLellan points out that from 1885 to 1900 the development of the Reading Circles was rapid and widespread and in 1889 became formally organized with the founding of the Reading Circle Union whose purpose was to:

> "...enable those whose occupation did not allow them to attend the university courses regularly to derive as much benefit from the Summer School lecture as from attendance at a regular university. It aimed to arouse in the minds of its students a thinking spirit and an abiding interest in profound questions, mundane and metaphysical, which dealt with man's past, present, and future."[29]

On the whole, religious institutions, such as the Catholic Church, did not experience the kind of dramatic development of institutional forms for the education of adults that characterized other institutions. The general character of adult education content shifted from general knowledge to several pin-pointed areas of emphasis including: vocational education, citizenship, public affairs, leisure-time activity, and health. Adult education was on target with the needs of the era of industrialization, emancipation, immigration, urbanization, and national maturation.

By the turn of the century the evening school concept nationally as well as in Detroit, had become an established fixture in the American educational scene. At the same time several trends and developments in evening schools became noteworthy:

1. Evening schools experienced rising enrollments.
2. The age level in evening schools increased.
3. The curriculum of the evening schools began to broaden via: a) Americanization programs for immigrants, b) Vocational courses in trade and commercial areas, c) Extension into secondary and college level subjects with the opening of evening high schools, and d) Experimental sorties into informal adult education.[30]

> "The problem of the Catholic hierarchy insofar as it was a directorate endeavoring to guide the five or six millions of the Catholic into respectable American life was essentially to keep these people faithful to their religious practices while they acquired the economic means to live comfortably. A second problem of the hierarchy was to provide the social means for their immigrants to elevate themselves into the better society possible in the freedom of the New World."[31]

Churches have been involved in adult education from their very beginnings but their role has traditionally been limited to the indoctrination of its followers in the precepts and tenets of their particular faith. In the Catholic Church the chief instrument for the education of the adult continued to be the pulpit and liturgy.

> "The Catholic Church became the unifying protector of its benighted faithful: 'The Church imparted dignity. It was a symbol of strength with which the individual identified himself and the means of salvation, offering escape from the poverty and care of thepresent world...The harsh realities of immigrant existence in New York gave strength to the Church and made it the bulwark of the Irish community:"[32]

A kaleidoscopic view of American society from 1921 to the present shows changing patterns in rising tempo in population, technology, economic conditions, international relations, social arrangements, communications,

philosophical and religious ideas, and government. It is an era characterized by movement from one crisis to another and it is the era of greatest expansion and innovation in adult education.

The population grew in size by over one-third, became predominantly urban, rose in average age, became better educated, and dropped in ratio of foreign-born from 13.2 percent in 1920 to 6.9 percent in 1950. During this era the United Stated experienced the dislocation of World War I, followed by ten years of unprecedented prosperity, then the ten year catastrophe of the Great Depression.

The central characteristic of the economic trend has been bigness in industry, in labor, in the national product, in the national debt, in personal wealth, in agriculture, and in government. The social changes with the greatest implications for adult education include a generally higher standard of living, a broader distribution of luxury goods and services, a more autonomous role for women, greater mobility, a marked improvement in health conditions, the expansion and coordination of welfare and recreational services, and the gradual reduction of racial and religious discrimination.

> "...the two generations after 1890 witnessed a transition from certainty to uncertainty, from faith to doubt, from security to insecurity, from seeming order to ostentatious disorder... First evolution, then scientific determinism, profoundly altered the outlook of most Americans...Americans, who had always accepted change in the material realm, were not prepared to accept it in the intellectual and moral as well, and they were less confident than formerly of their power to direct or control the change."[33]

It was in the atmosphere of the social setting following the end of World War I that many institutions such as the Catholic Church and public school system built their foundation for what we have come to know as adult education. Indeed, this process of maturation can be typlified by the following trends:

1. There has been pressure toward the national integration of adult education activities.
2. There has been a move towards the integration of adult education at the local level.
3. Large-scale support of adult education by private foundations has developed.
4. Governmental support of adult education has been expanding.
5. A distinctive body of knowledge and techniques has begun to emerge.
6. The student body of adult education has been greatly expanded.
7. Adult education has become a conscious and differentiated function in an increasing number of institutions.[34]

In reviewing the historical development of adult education in the United States; certain generalizations can be made which may have implications for the planning of future strategy.

1. Adult education institutions have typically emerged in response to specific needs, rather than as part of a general design for the continuing education of adults.
2. The developmental process of adult education has tended to be more episodic then consistent.
3. Institutional forms for the education of adults have tended to servive to the extent that they become attached to agencies established for other purposes.
4. Adult education programs have tended to gain stability and permanence as they became increasingly differentiated in administration, finance, curriculum, and methodology.

5. Adult education programs have emerged with, and continue to occupy, a secondary status in the institutional hierarchy.

6. The institutional segments of adult education have tended to become crystallized without reference to any conception of a general adult education movement.[35]

> "Every society has used adult education processes to continue the development of the kind of citizens visualized to be required for the maintenance and progress of that society; and the perception of the kind of adult required is different for each society. For example, the perception in Soviet society is quite different from the perception in Western society; the perception in urban society is different from that in rural society; the perception in Jewish society is different in some aspects from the perception in Catholic or Protestant societies; the perception in professional society is different from that in industrial society; and so on."[36]

> "The issues live on, because the tensions that produced them are woven into the fabric of American political, social and cultural life."[37]

The Catholic home of the era after the Civil War in the United States was the basic unit of Catholicism. Indeed, much of the loyalty to Catholicism was a combination of social and religious loyalty. The immigrants had come into a country where there was religious liberty, where for the first time, citizenship was not attached to external religious observance. Thus, this liberty, by eliminating European bonds of unity, served in many instances to heighten the loyalty to the religious as well as the social practices brought from Europe.

The problem of the Catholic hierarchy was essentially to keep its followers faithful to their religious practices while they acquired the economic means to live comfortably. Secondly, the Church hierarchy needed to provide the social means for their immigrants to elevate themselves into the better society possible in the freedom of the New World.

The reaction of the Protestant majority to the growing Catholic minority was again one of deepening alarm. There were two qualities in the Catholic minority that stood out: subservience to the priesthood and the overwhelming predominance of Irishmen and their descedants in the Catholic hierarchy.

> "The Church did not want public schools which were truly common schools, where Irish children and other Catholic children might go without fear of prejudice. Because of the Church's view of the inseparability of religion and education, the kind of nonsectarian common school which had developed in New York and in other parts of the country was wholly inimical."[38]

Catholicism in nineteenth century America was not the result of the conversion of a people by missionaries as occurred in western Europe during the dark ages. Rather, it was the result of hurried efforts of the Church's organization in the nineteenth century to get priests into the new settlements where the Catholic laity had gone.

The chief characteristic of American Catholicism was a kind of unquestioning faith. For the most part the Catholic immigrant and his children were too busy acquiring the essentials of a good living to think much about or to study his faith. He depended upon the priest for his instruction and upon the local parrish school to handle the task of inculcating the principles of Catholicism. It seldom occurred to him to question the faith that had given him so much consolation in times of need. Quite important in his reliance on the priest was the rule of the Church established in the trustee controversy that the Church and the school and other Church property were to be administered entirely by the clergy, presumably for the preservation and spread of Catholicism.

Despite the many differences in language there was little difference in the Catholicism that was preached in the Churches or taught in the

parish schools across the country. It was the elementary

elementary doctrines of the penny Cathechism for the most part that was taught.

The manner in which the congregations expanded in the cities differed only slightly from the more direct missionary growth of the frontier. In the city where the number of Catholics in a congregation became unwieldy and funds could be had for construction, the parish was subdivided. In the less populous places, as soon as the number of Catholics in the community could support a priest, the bishop endeavored to send out a missionary who might have to care for more than one congregation at first. The farther west the Church moved, the scarcer normally would be the Catholic population and the more widely scattered would be the mission centers of the Church, except along the far western coast where the prosperity of California after the gold rush, which had its Irish clergy too, had begun as it were a counter movement toward the east. Naturally, there were numerous variations to all these patterns, but a Catholic could hear Mass and receive the Sacraments according to the Roman rite in any Catholic church or chapel.

> "The fact that the public schools of the country were forced by law to exclude the teaching of religion had brought about attempts in many parts of the country to have Catholic parish schools...an indication of the desire of the Catholic immigrant to rise socially and culturally."[39]

> "...American Catholicism was not a real unity even with the Instructions of 1875 and 1878 and the decrees of the Third Plenary Council. The Catholic schools differed in quality and quantity from diocese to diocese and generally had no direct relationship to the Catholic University. The national societies included the growing Knights of Columbus and many national societies for the Irish, Germans, or Polish, which were usually regional in importance, if not very local."[40]

There have been times when the activities of the Catholic Church in the United States seemed to parallel the development of the social and political life of the country. However, the parallel stops rather abruptly because

the Americanist movement received a severe check via the papal letter Testem Benevolentiae of January 22, 1899, while the Progressive Movement in American politics scarcely reached its peak before the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912.

The theological movements of Catholicism have not had any close parallel to American political history primarily because:

1. The center for Catholicism has been outside the country in Rome, Italy.
2. In a country historically dominated by English Protestants, the Catholic minority comprised primarily of non-English immigrants, has consisted of a social and cultural complex different from that of the country as a whole.[41]

The events of the summer of 1917 mark a change in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. The involvement of the country in a war with Germany was not in itself an ecclesiastical matter. However, the war provided the occasion for the first really unified action that the Catholic Church in the U.S. has achieved since the Third Plenary Council of 1884.

> "That unity in 1884 was superficial and was dissipated soon after by the quarrels over foreign nationalism and Americanization. The difficulties in the way of unity manifested in the attempt to support the war effort emphasized in some ways the division and dissentions which were hindering Catholic unity."[42]

One of the truly great manifestations of Catholic life after World War I was the growth of the Catholic school system. During the nineteenth century there has been a steady increase in Catholic schools. Indeed, the First and Second Plenary Councils had urged them.

> "...the Roman Instruction of 1875, with its characterization of public schools as direct occasions of sin and its corollary

that Catholic schools must be built to replace them, had been repeated in the decrees of the Third Plenary Council with a mandatory period of two years after the promulgation of the decree for the erection of the parochial schools. Yet ten years later the increase in schools was only about what might have been expected without the decrees of the Council. The major factor in this delay in building parochial schools was that where Catholics were more numerous they were also earning low incomes and had the least money for building parish schools, especially if the Catholic schools were to be as good in secular subjects as the public schools. This quality had been commanded in the Instruction of 1875 as well as in the Third Plenary Council decrees."[43]

As civic consciousness began to insist on the improvement of the public schools and teaching became more technical; the religious fervor of the Catholic teachers could not off-set the technical training or be increased to handle increased enrollments. As a direct consequence, many Catholic children were compelled to attend public institutions.

The Code of Canon Law issued by the Church in 1918 demanded that Catholic children attend Catholic schools and elmininated in theory at least, any excuse for sending Catholic children to non-Catholic schools. However, the truth of the matter was that there were numerous cases throughout the country particularly the northeast manufacturing centers, where there were thousands of Catholics in public schools.

The growth of the Catholic school system in the time span 1920 to 1928 involved an increase of 1,530 or 18% in the number of institutions; 28,561 or 53.5% in the number of teachers; and 557,521 or 28% in the number of students. By 1928 there were 10,236 institutions, 82,826 teachers and 2,538,572 students.

By 1928 the number of Catholic high schools and academies had increased from 1,552 in 1920 to 2,129 in 1928, the number of teachers in them had increased from 7,915 in 1920 to 13,489 in 1928, and the number of students had increased from 129,848 to 225,845.

The depression of 1929 had religious repercussions. Financial losses, losses of employment, and accompanying hardships gave the faithful additional

reasons for prayers and the frequencing of the Sacraments. Moreover, the financial difficulties made the building of churches and schools difficult if not impossible. College enrollments shrank dramatically. Catholics suffered from the depression according to their location and circumstances.

One noticeable consequence of the depression was that it increased the financial necessity for Catholics desiring higher education to take advantage of the lower costs in state supported institutions.

The historical data relevant to the adult education movement in the Archdiocese of Detroit during the years 1875 to 1932 is sketchy at best. Indeed, no real use of the term adult education shows up in any documentation prior to the early 1920's. As a consequence, what is obtainable insofar as useful data will serve if for no other reason than to set the tempo for a more comprehensive look at the adult education movement in the Archdiocese of Detroit during the years 1875 to 1932.

There is no definite record of any Catholic school from 1791 to 1804. From then on through the eighteenth century the history of education in Detroit is mainly Catholic in character. "The Catholic school has a history antedating that of the public schools by four decades," writes Sister Mary Rosalita, I.H.M., in her book, published in 1928, Education in Detroit Prior to 1850.

In 1888 there were eighteen Catholic parishes in the City of Detroit. Twenty-five years later there were within the territorial limits of Detroit forty-three Catholic parishes.

> "The diocese of Detroit at the present time comprises the counties of the lower peninsula south of Ottawa, Kent, Montcalm, Gratiot, and Saginaw, and east of the counties of Saginaw and Bay. It has 156 churches, one bishop, 133 priests, and a Catholic population of about 110,000. In 1834 we had in the diocese of Detroit, one bishop, 30 priests, and 20,000 of a Catholic population."[44]

It's important to recognize that in Detroit and elsewhere throughout the country the Catholic Church became the unifying protector of its benighted faithful. It imparted dignity and was a symbol of strength with which the individual identified himself and the means of salvation. It offered escape from the poverty and the cares of the present world. Thus, with this in mind "...to offend a man's religion was to offend his entire culture and identity: to Catholics, nonsectarianism was by definition Protestanism and necessarily offensive."[45]

The Catholic Church in Detroit built its own school system so that her children might grow up in reverence for the Church and for its teachings and in obedience to its laws. Thus, the Church dealt with the problem of the foreign child in a manner consistent with her policies. The children were taught to reverence for their own parents and for the traditions of their native country. As a consequence, they grew up in this country gradually imbiding its spirit and adopting its customs in a spirit of reverence and love.

> "The arguments of Catholics on the public school question were not always the same. The basic contention of the theologians was that the state did not have the right to educate the child except when the parent failed to do his duty. This argument had a basic defect in that the argument denied the state the right to educate while trying to impose at the same time an obligation of the state to pay for education.
>
> These American Puritans interpreted the Catholic argument as an attack on the public schools and a desire to force the state to support the Catholic schools...For the Puritan majority, public support of any Catholic institution was wrong. Perhaps this support of a separate system of schools would not have been so unacceptable to Catholics if they had been the more prosperous citizens of the country. Private schools among the wealthier people had always found support. Nevertheless, the fact was that the Catholic minority for the most part belonged to the underpriviledged of the country."[46]

The Catholic Church, to avoid the Protestanism and the secularism of the public schools, as well as to provide a full religious education, as the Catholic conscience demands, adopted the policy of establishing a

separate school system.

During the seventeen years of Bishop Borgess' tenure from 1870 to 1887 seven parochial schools were opened in Detroit:

St. Wenceslaus...1874

Sacred Heart.....1875

St. Joanchim.....1875

St. Albertus.....1872

Holy Redeemer....1881

St. Casimir......1884

St. Elizabeth....1886

In April of 1887 Bishop Borgess helped to establish a Catholic college in Detroit. An initial band of four priests arrived in Detroit in June of 1877 headed by Father John Baptist Miege who recently resigned his office as Bishop of Leavonworth. In September of 1887 the Detroit College began its classes in a residence opposite Bishop Borgess' own Cathedral parish. Eventually the College was housed at its Jefferson Avenue location in 1890.[47]

Many Catholic academies and colleges had been founded throughout the country chiefly by religious communities or by Catholic bishops who sought to establish a source of diocesan clergy. Unfortunately, very few of these academies or colleges could sustain themselves from the tuition, even with the contributed services of a religious society.

The ambitious endeavors of Detroit Catholics and others throughout the country to improve their situation caused the economics of the Catholic school system to become an increasing problem as did the demands from Rome for more Catholic parish schools. Thus, the strain of maintaining Catholic schools and Catholic opposition to the public schools continued to be sources of friction between Catholics and Protestants.

> "If it was not for the help, thus obtained from Europe, the schools etc., could not be maintained; the missionaries would be without support, lands which were required for the future could not be had, few churches would be erected and our glory today would not be."[48]

It was during this time period that the Poles formed the largest immigrant group in Detroit. St. Albertus, the first Polish parish in the city, had opened a parochial school in 1871 and six years later there was an enrollment of at least three hundred children in classes conducted by lay teachers. Moreover, during the episcopate of Bishop Borgess the figures in the Catholic Directory showed 60 schools and 11,470 pupils.

> "The first Diocesan School Board, composed of five clergymen, was named in 1887. Bishop Foley introduced in 1890 the modifications which remained in force for many years. A Board of Examiners was formed to deal with the qualifications of teachers, and School Boards were set up in each of the deaneries of the diocese- numbering five at the time, and six at present- to which the other functions of the original Diocesan School were entrusted."[49]

The earliest documentation of a Catholic society in Detroit providing what we today would interpet as "adult education classes" dates back to 1853 with the establishment of the Naturalization Society of Detroit which met in the basement of Trinity Church. Its purpose was set forth in a notice published in the Detroit Catholic Vindicator on April 30, 1853:

> "...We therefore call upon all emigrants who settle down amongst us, to take advantage of the facilities of acquiring citizenship through the inducement held out by this society, and to sever the filmy thread of loyalty that links them to the mother country by declaring their allegiance to the land of their adoption. The following gentlemen are office bearers, and upon application to either of them the necessary assistance will be given in acquiring the glorious privileges of an American citizen- Alderman Martin, President., John McNamarra, Secretary, J. Clancy."[50]

Regretably, the records of this society are fragmentary at best and for the most part long disappeared. Nevertheless, records are sufficient to point out that Catholics of the period, divided into strict national groups,

strived as best they could to relieve the needs of those less fortunate.

The German community greatly enriched Detroit. Many of the original immigrants brought some small capital with them and established their own shops and businesses. Many were skilled tradesmen and found a ready market for their crafts. Others were teachers and musicians. The children of this first generation entered the professions and a large number became physicians, attorneys, and educators. The German language continued to be spoken in the homes, churches, and parochial schools, and was taught in the public high schools until World War I when it became less popular. Several German language newspapers flourished and the Abend Post founded in 1868 is still being published. The Germans also became a potent political group in both the city and county governments. At least five held the office of mayor between 1860 and 1917.

Close on the heels of the Germans was the arrival of the Irish to Detroit. Unlike the Germans, the Irish lacked professional skills and became laborers in their new home. They worked on public projects such as roads and rail construction, and found jobs in the factories. Many of the young women became domestics and the men who had a way with horses manned the livery stables or became coachmen for the affluent. Most of the streetcar motormen and conductors were Irish. Being gregarious, they found saloonkeeping to their liking and soon were as much in evidence in the City Hall as their German neighbors.

The largest national group to adopt Detroit as its home town were the Poles. A few Poles were here at a relatively early date, but the big influx began in the mid 1870's. Unlike the Germans and Irish, the Poles were actively recruited through immigration offices or bureaus which the state maintained from 1869 to 1885. Agents of the commission also met the immigration

ships at eastern seaports and channeled the new arrivals to the city of Detroit.

The Poles were in great demand as common labor in the various railroad shops and stove works although some were employed in the fields of the D.M. Ferry seed farms.

The Poles, because of their language and customs which were much different than what Americans knew and understood, did not assimilate easily. Moreover, they had a tendency to withdraw into their own social environment and their life was centered around their churches and their Dom Polskis or social halls. Nevertheless, they were community conscious, became home owners, and their leaders showed them how to become a vocal element in the body called politics. As a result, the second and third generation Poles broke out of the boundaries of their original neighborhoods, and scattered throughout the city. Traditionally opposed to the Russians, they comprised a staunch anti-Communist block which prevails even to this day. Back in 1930 it was estimated that there were 350,000 Poles in the Detroit Metropolitan area.

Other national groups in small numbers were in Detroit almost from the time of its founding. However, the big influx of immigration occurred between 1900 and 1919. This growth was in large measure a result of the growth of the automobile industry that in most cases swelled the city's foreign-born population. Among the large groups that appeared during this period were Armenians, Syrians, and Lebanese, about 65,000 each. The Belgians began to arrive about 1890 and there were about 12,000 of them. In 1886 the Greeks made their first appearance in Detroit and numbered around 35,000.

Immigrants from Hungary came in sizable numbers beginning in the late 1890's. An estimated 55,000 found homes in the city where the men were employed by the railroads and in the Solvay Process Company plants.

Ultimately some 150,000 Italians found their way to the city with the first contingent arriving in 1880. The Russians began to arrive in substantial numbers about 1900. Many were Jews fleeing the programs and persecutions of their czarist homeland. Progressive and industrious, the Jews firmly established themselves as an important influence on the City of Detroit's business and professional life.

Another large group were the Ukranians of whom about 100,000 settled in and around Detroit. Many came to work in the automobile plants. Other nationalities that were well represented in Detroit include Slovaks (60,000), Romanians (45,000), Swedes (25,000), Finns (20,000), and Bulgarians, Croatians, Lithuanians, Mexicans, Norwegians, and Serbs (about 10,000 each). The result was that the census of 1930 verified that thirty percent of Detroit's population was foreign born.[51]

Detroit, more than most cities, possessed the necessary ingredients for making the automobile industry prosper. For several years it had been the center of the marine gasoline industry, building the power units for the launches and motor boats on the Great Lakes and other waters. Suffice it to say the shops were here, the know how was here, and the needed supply of skilled labor was here.

The City of Detroit was the center of the malleable iron manufacturing industry; it had plants which could turn out castings, and it had others which were turning out springs, copper and brass parts and fittings, and paints and varnishes. There were companies engaged in manufacturing wagons and carriages, so finding body makers, wheelwrights, and blacksmiths was no problem. The era of northern lumbering was passing and there was an abundance of labor available with basic or developable mechanical aptitudes. Furthermore, Detroit was sensitive to the needs for effective transportation. The Great

Lakes were frozen four or five months of the year and Michigan was not located on any of the main railroad lines. There was a natural local interest in anything that would move people and goods. In addition, risk capital was available for ventures which gave promise of being economically sound. In short, Detroit became prominent in the industry because it had access to capital, skilled labor, and material.

> "After the turn of the century Detroit became too big and complex a city to tolerate any longer a graft-ridden inefficient municipal government controlled by ward-heeler politicians. In 1912 the Detroit Citizens League was organized and its publication The Civic Searchlight became the bible of the independent voter...As a result of pressure by the Citizens League; aided by church groups, the Board of Education was reorganized in 1916. A school board of seven nonpartisan members, elected from the city at large instead of from wards as in the past, was provided for and public education was largely removed from the arena of partisan politics."[52]

The new technology of the automobile age as well as the increased population made new educational facilities a necessity. Expanding business and all that went with it called for technical and professional skills which the universities and colleges of Michigan and other states could not easily supply. The result was the growth of institutions of higher learning to supply local needs and provide education for stay-at-home students at a lower cost than was possible at most of the older established schools.

In 1868 a group of Detroit doctors recognized the need for better medical education and organized the privately owned Detroit Medical College later to be called the Detroit College of Medicine. In 1918, due to financial problems, the college was taken over by the Detroit Board of Education and in 1933 it became the Medical College of Wayne University.

In 1913 a pre-med course was offered to high school students at the old Central High School. This proved so successful that in 1915 post-graduate training was offered in other departments at Central. Proving popular, this

program eventually led to the establishment in 1917 of the Detroit Junior College which offered a two-year curriculum with credits accepted at the University of Michigan and other institutions. In 1923 the Junior College became the College of the City of Detroit and offered regular four-year courses.

In 1934 City College attained University status and was named Wayne University. It continued to remain under Board of Education control until in 1956 when it was given the same status as other state-supported institutions and its name became Wayne State University.[53]

In 1877, prior to Wayne State University even being thought of, the Detroit College was being founded by Jesuit priests of the Catholic Church. Many of its students were employed during the day and attended evening classes. New departments were added from time to time including law, engineering, business administration, and dentistry. Eventually the college became so large and so important to the community that it was reorganized in 1911 as the University of Detroit. A few years later in 1927 Marygrove College, a Catholic school for women, was opened.

Other educational institutions were opened in Detroit to fill the need for technical skills and know-how. In 1891 under the auspices of the YMCA, a technical school was opened which in time became the Detroit Institute of Technology. In 1892 the YMCA sponsored the Detroit College of Law which continues to thrive.

The Lawrence Institute of Technology, supported primarily by industry, opened its doors in 1931. At the same time the Ford Motor Company established the Henry Ford Trade School for the training of apprentices. Similar programs were established by General Motors and Chrysler Corporation.

In 1918 through the bequest of Lizzie Merrill Palmer, the Merrill-Palmer Institute was opened. Originally a homemaking institute, the scope of the

school expanded into an advanced center for sociological and psychological training in the field of family and community services.

There were several notable factors that contributed to the growth of the automobile industry throughout the decade of the 1920's. Indeed, it was a growth that helped to make the automobile industry America's number one manufacturing activity both from the value of the product as well as the number of people employed.

The market during the 1920's reflected both a domestic and foreign demand. Indeed, millions of soldiers worldwide learned to rely on the automobile during World War I and became accustomed to its use and convenience. "A car was one of the first things the veteran wanted when he returned to civilian life. The invention and perfection of the self-starter by Charles F. Kettering made the auto available to women."[54]

For ten years or more following the end of World War I, except for the recession of 1921-22, Americans lived in a dream world. Business boomed, employment was high, prohibition was largely ignored, moral codes began to relax, and everybody seemed to be having fun. The automobile industry hit a new peak of prosperity. The City's population grew, its borders expanded and new suburbs were laid out. People dreamed of getting rich quickly and engaged in wild speculation. There seemed to be an abundance of money and more could be obtained by speculating or borrowing. The stock market beckoned with get rich commodities and Detroiters flocked to broker's offices and bought securities of doubtful value on small margin. Everybody seemed to be buying with no end in sight. Unfortunately, the bulk of the buying was being done on credit and paper profits were being pyramided. Speculation was rappant, uncontrollable, and people ran up unmanageable debts.

It was in October of 1929 that the bottom fell out and Detroit was one of the very first cities to feel the effects due to its industrial nature and heavy dependence on the automotive industry. Thousands of people lost their life's savings in the market and the economy tightened up. Suddenly the balloon burst and the resevoir of easy to get money dried up almost over night.

In 1929, there were 5,337,087 vehicles produced. In 1930 production was down significantly to 3,362,820 and in 1931 production hit rock bottom with an output of only 1,331,860. The result was predictable and devastating. Suddenly thousands upon thousands of Detroiters were out of work. Lacking resources, they were unable to pay their creditors and the depression really grabbed hold. Indeed, Detroit went from silk shirt affluence to hunger in a matter of a few short months. The depression touched everybody, rich and poor, black and white, Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant. It crossed religious, economic and political barriers and spared very few. Its effects were felt by everyone and resulted in the disappearance of jobs, businesses and future dreams. Most businesses were forced to drastically cut salaries and wages. Even municipal employees were hit hard when the treasury became empty in April of 1933 and the city was forced to pay off in script in the amount of $8,000,000.

During the early months of 1931 as many as 48,000 Detroit families were receiving some form of welfare. That meant that about twenty (20) percent of Detroit's work force was idle and 192,000 individuals cared for. Perhaps the most dramatic incident of the depression occurred early in 1933 when the banks were closed by decree of Governor William A. Comstock.

> "Just as the causes of the depression were at work before the people became aware of them, so was the process of recovery. But it was slow and painful. The problem was to keep body and

> soul together until things got back to normal...in 1933 President Franklin D. Roosevelt presented Congress with a program of relief measures in which the resources of the federal government were used to accomplish what the states and local governments could not as for lack of funds. Among the first of these measures was the establishment of Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps. These recruited jobless young men, most of whose families were on welfare. They were sent to work on conservation projects such as planting forests, cleaning streams, rehabilitating public parks, and building rural roads."[55]

Many other similar kinds of work projects soon followed. Locally, as elsewhere, projects were seemingly created wherever anything of a public nature could be found to do. Groups of men raked leaves in public parks, cleaned sewers and ditches, trimmed trees, repaired streetcar tracks, and rebound books for schools and libraries. Indeed, even the unemployed white collar workers and professionals were assigned jobs. Artists were assigned jobs of restoring paintings or decorating public building interiors. Writers and actors were assigned to newly organized and developed symphony orchestras.

Under the Public Works Administration (PWA), federal grants were made available to local communities for such projects as street paving, school construction, libraries, bath houses, and numerous other public buildings. Suffice it to say, that despite its imperfections, thousands of able-bodied men and women in Detroit and elsewhere, had their hope, dignity and self-confidence gradually restored.

> "Just as Detroit was one of the first to feel the depression, so was it one of the first to find a recovery road. A car-hungry nation began again to buy automobiles and in 1936 the auto industry produced nearly 4,500,000 cars and trucks."[56]

Evening courses were first established in the city of Detroit in 1875. The first evening program was initiated at the Trowbridge School Building on November 1, 1875 as an experiemental enterprise. The experiment proved so successful that another school was opened in December

of 1875 at the Abbott Street Building. Both of these schools were opened with the support of George W. Balch, President of the Detroit Board of Education. Their stated purpose was to aid young men and women who were constrained to work at an early age.

The Superintendent of Schools, in his annual report to the Board of Education, noted that:

> "The two evening schools recently put in operation by the Board of Education have achieved a most gratifying success. They are meeting a want long and seriously felt by young persons who are unable to give any portion of the day to school work. No student in the city are more manageable, earnest and industrious than those who assemble nightly at the Trowbridge and Abbott Street schools, and in no other schools is the progress of pupils more steady and satisfactory. The attendance also has been far more regular than was expected before the experiment was made. It is to be hoped that the Board will have at its disposal next year the means for greatly enlarging an enterprise which promises so much to a class eager for educational advantages."[57]

EVENING SCHOOLS
Enrollment, Attendance, etc., to Dec. 31, 1875[58]

Name of Schools	Whole No. Enrolled	Average No. Enrolled	Average Attendance	Percent of Att'ndce	No. belonging Dec. 31, 1875
Trowbridge School	156	94	82	87	93
Abbott Street School	122	105	93	88	116
Totals	278	199	175	175	209

The costs associated with the program at Trowbridge was $1.41 per student and the subjects taught included: reading, writing, and arithmetic. In 1882 a fee system was started whereby the student deposited one dollar

as evidence of good intentions. The fee was returned to the student upon certification of good attendance.

By the year 1895 a total of nine schools were offering learning programs with forty-nine teachers and 710 students in attendance. Due to economic pressures the end of the next ten years found no growth in the evening school program. Thus, while the number of schools offering programs remained at nine, the attendance had dropped to 689.

In 1906 the Board of Education consolidated the night schools, public playgrounds, and ungraded schools into one department under the direction of one director.

During the year of 1912 the number of schools offering evening programs reaching thirteen with a combined enrollment of 4,372. It was no mere coincidence that this tremendous growth in enrollment corresponded to the enactment in 1906 of the Alien Education Law by the Michigan Legislature.

The Michigan Alien Education Law of 1906 authorized the Superintendent of Public Instruction, together with the cooperation of the boards of school districts, to provide for the education of aliens and native illiterates over the age of eighteen years.[59]

Under the direction of Frank Cody, General Supervisor of Adult Education for the Detroit Public School System, adult evening programs began to grow at an ever increasing rate.

TABLE B[60]

	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17
Cass Technical.....	1,380	1,868	3,050
Central.....	1,710	1,357	2,238
Eastern.....	836	884	1,390

Northwestern.....	181	300	794
Western.....	603	505	747
Northeastern.....	....	....	645
Nordstrum.....	....	....	200
Totals	4,710	4,914	9,064

% increase over 1914-15 -- 92.2%
% increase over 1915-16 -- 88.9%

TABLE C[61]

ENROLLMENT AMERICANIZATION SCHOOLS

Schools	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	% increase over 1914-15	% increase over 1915-16
Bishop	683	526	371	-84.3	-40.9
Campbell	190	407	233	22.6	-74.6
Capron	154	180	250	62.3	38.8
Chaney		62	228		267.7
Dwyer		693	491		-41.1
Everett	318	493	332	4.4	-48.4
Ferry		261	225		-16
George		417	349		-19.4
Grensel	699	957	230	-203.9	-316
Logan		95	165		73.6
McMillan	310	597	307	-.9	-94.4
Majeske		712	270		-163.7
Newberry	429	738	208	-106.2	-254.8
Schipps	321	470	161	-99.3	-191.9
Sill		198	74		-167.5
Trowbridge	344	741	266	-29.3	-178.5
Franklin Street Settlement	61	350	108	77	-224
Totals	3,309	7,897	4,268	21.6	-84

TABLE C-A

ENROLLMENT NEW AMERICANIZATION SCHOOLS 1916-17[62]

Bellevue	108
Duffield	130
Ellis	183
Garfield	275
Lillibridge	315
McKinstry	184
Morley	193
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Frank Cody is regarded as a prime mover and a pioneer in the area of adult education in Michigan. He utilized his administrative talent to capitalize on the circumstances facing the Detroit Public Schools. Moreover, he recognized the need to pursue the adult evening program in earnest.

> "The goals of adult education as Cody saw them can be enumerated in the following manner: (1) to help the immigrant in the best possible manner to make his or her own adjustment to life in the United States; (2) to provide an opportunity to those whose education was interrupted for one reason or another to continue their studies; (3) to aid those who wish to advance in their chosen work or to make a change in their vocation; (4) to help those who wish to expand their cultural and avocational interest due to the availability of leisure time."[63]

The Annual Report for the year 1915 showed a significant increase in adult students over the year 1914. The principle reason for this increase is attributed to the joint efforts of the Detroit Public Schools, the federal government and the Detroit industrial sector in promoting and publicizing Americanization classes for immigrants.

> "During the past season we have maintained evening classes in fifteen elementary and five high schools for one hundred nights at an approximate cost of $73,000, and I am sure we could have operated them for two hundred nights, that is, for the entire year at a great advantage to the students and the

> city at large, if it had been financially possible. Seven more evening elementary schools and one more evening high school were opened this year than the previous year. The attendance in the evening elementary schools in September 1915 was 6,778, and increase of 4,609 over the same period in 1914. The attendance in the evening high schools in September, 1915, was much larger than the attendance in 1914 at the same time."[64]

Cody's innovations set a pattern not only for the education of immigrants but for adult education in general. In his report for the year 1915-16 he indicated that the following measures had been taken toward improving the evening school instruction: (1) A system of teaching English was adopted called the Roberts' System. Moreover, Cody brought the Roberts' System originator, Dr. Peter Roberts, and H.H. Wheaton, a specialist in immigrant education, to educate the evening school teachers in the methodology of teaching English at the first evening school teacher's institute to be held in this country. (2) Classes in civics and local government were initiated to aid the student in grasping American political concepts. This instruction, in conjunction with the U.S. Bureau of Immigration and the Detroit Courts, facilitated the naturalization process. (3) Classes were brought closer to the student by opening classes in two or three rooms in several schools under the supervision of one principal. (4) An attendance officer was designated whereby new residents of the city were visited and informed about the evening school program as well as investigated the reasons why students might leave schools and attempt to persuade them to return. (5) Cody instituted a socialization process by which, through the medium of the school, the neighborhood group would participate in one evening of socialization in order to find solidarity in the new world via group expression. The medium of expression utilized by Cody was music.[65]

Suffice it to say that there were numerous curriculum and administrative innovations attributable to Frank Cody. Indeed, Cody had

served the purpose of laying the cornerstone and preparing the path for what we know today as adult education in the state of Michigan.

The systematic examination of the educational and social ideas of the time period from 1875 to 1932 is essential to an understanding about how adult education developed, why it developed as it did, the dominant concerns that engaged its attention, the aims it articulated, and the methods used to attain these aims. Few historical studies of adult education adequately address the social and intellectual context. As a consequence, adult education is more often than not viewed abstractly as though the ideas about adult education were divorced from what other persons were thinking and doing.

An historical study of adult education in the City of Detroit in the context of the social, political, and intellectual movement gives a concreteness to its nature, aims, and strategies. It provides a base for comparison of the various conceptions of adult education held in various periods of American history and in other national cultures. Such an approach requires the identification of the categories to be used for comparison and the intensive study of the historical period to provide benchmark data for comparisons.

In order to follow-up with a comprehensive historical investigation of adult education in the City of Detroit during the time span of 1875 to 1932; I would expect the following categories and subcategories ot serve as a guide:

I. A National Overview of the Years 1875 to 1932

   a) politically

   b) economically

   c) educationally

d) religiously

II. An Overview of Conditions in the City of Detroit During the Years 1875 to 1932

a) politically

b) economically

c) educationally

d) religiously

III. Census and Demographic Data About the City of Detroit During the Years 1875 to 1932

a) age

b) sex

c) occupation

d) marital status

e) income

f) education

g) religious affiliation

h) place of birth

i) number of dependents

j) place of residence (e.g., ward)

IV. Additional Data

a) maps and map overlays

1. population concentration

2. geographical/political boundaries

3. Catholic parish/school boundaries

4. transportation lines (e.g., streetcar)

b) pictures/drawings of Detroit churches/schools

c) depiction of curriculum flow-charts

1. philosophy of education

2. graduation requirements

3. instructional materials utilized

d) charts/graphs

1. enrollment data

2. instructional staff data

3. per pupil costs related to education

e) administrative flow-charts

Further research will be severely hampered by lost, misplaced, uncataloged, destroyed, and/or inaccessible historical evidence. Nevertheless, while many questions will remain unanswered, sufficient bits and pieces can be garnered shedding new light on the development of adult education in the City of Detroit during the years 1875 to 1932 with a focus upon the public and Catholic school sectors.

Hidden clues leading to a more comprehensive study of the development of adult education in the City of Detroit involves a careful and time consuming investigation of: 1) Individual Catholic parish records including related "ethnic" clubs and/or societies, 2) Census/immigration data relevant to the City of Detroit, the State of Michigan, and the Nation, and 3) Scrutiny of records relevant to the Detroit Public Schools.

> "The public school operates on behalf of the community, but how 'community' is defined is the source of political and ideological controversy. A child lives simultaneously in many communities: his neighborhood, city, state, and nation; his ethnic group, race, and/or religion; his parent's occupation and interestsmay place his family in other communities as well. To suggest that the school serve one community and reject others is to create a partial vision, to limit children's potentialities instead of expanding them. The school that exalts only one race or class or locality denies the common humanity of its pupils, denies the diversity and mobility that is characteristic of democratic society. Respecting common

values and common humanity need not imply the pursuit of homogeneity; no one wants to be a faceless figure in a mass society. The school can applaud individual and cultural diversity without resorting to the extremes of separatism and chauvinism."[66]

FOOTNOTES

[1]Handbook of Adult Education in the United States 1960, Malcolm S. Knowles Editor, (Chicago, 1960), pp. 3-4.

[2]Malcolm S. Knowles, The Adult Education Movement in the United States, (New York, 1962), pp. 74-75.

[3]Ibid., p. 54.

[4]Ibid., p. 55.

[5]Ibid., p. 35.

[6]Ibid., p. 34.

[7]Ibid., p. 36.

[8]Ibid., p. 55.

[9]Immigration and American History, Edited by Henry Steele Commager, (Minneapolis, 1962), p. 13.

[10]Oscar Handlin, Al Smith and His America, (Boston, 1958), pp. 118 ff.

[11]Commager, op. cit., p. 14.

[12]Marcus L. Hansen, "The Third Generation in America," Commentary, 14:492 ff (1952).

[13]Commager, op. cit., p. 20.

[14]Ibid., p. 22.

[15]Ibid., p. 25.

[16]Ibid., p. 103.

[17]Detroit, Edited by Melvin G. Holli, (New York, 1976), p. 120.

[18]Ibid., p. 121.

[19]Ibid., pp. 121-122.

[20]Ibid., p. 123.

[21]Detroiter 7 (January 17, 1916).

[22]Holli, op. cit., p. 137.

[23]Ibid., p. 137.

[24]Ibid., p. 138.

[25]Ibid., p. 140.

[26]Knowles, The Adult Education Movement in the United States, p. 148.

[27]Ibid., p. 149.

[28]Malcolm MacLellan, The Catholic Church and Adult Education, Vol. VIII, No. 5, (Washington, 1935), p. 21.

[29]Ibid., p. 23.

[30]Knowles, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

[31]Thomas T. McAvoy, A History of the Catholic Church in the United States, (Indiana, 1969), p. 243.

[32]Diane Ravitch, The Great School Wars, (New York, 1974), p. 31.

[33]Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind, (New Haven, 1950), pp. 407-408.

[34]Knowles, Handbook of Adult Education in the United States 1960, pp. 23-25.

[35]Ibid., p. 26.

[36]Malcolm S. Knowles, The Modern Practice of Adult Education-Andragogy Versus Pedagogy, (New York, 1970), p. 32.

[37]Ravitch, op. cit., p. XV.

[38]Ibid., p. 56.

[39]McAvoy, op. cit., pp. 253-254.

[40]Ibid., p. 342.

[41]Ibid., p. 353.

[42]Ibid., p. 363.

[43]Ibid., pp. 393-394.

[44]Rev. F.A. O'Brien, "The Diocese of Detroit- What It Was- What It Will Be," A paper read before the State Pioneers Society at Lansing, June 8, 1886.

[45]Ravitch, op. cit., p. 9.

[46]McAvoy, op. cit., pp. 243-244.

[47]George Pare', The Catholic Church in Detroit 1701-1888, (Detroit, 1951), p. 647.

[48]O'Brien, op. cit.,

[49]Pare', op. cit., p. 651.

[50]Ibid., p. 673.

[51]Frank B. Woodford and Arthur M. Woodford, All Our Yesterdays, (Detroit, 1969), pp. 246-253.

[52]Ibid., p. 279.

[53]Ibid., p. 282.

[54]Ibid., p. 285.

[55]Ibid., pp. 318-319.

[56]Ibid., p. 320.

[57]Annual Reports of the City of Detroit 1875, Report of the Superintendent of Schools, 1876, p. 93.

[58]Ibid., p. 93.

[59]Fredrick Columbus, The History and Development of Public School Adult and Community Education in Michigan 1862-1977, (Lansing, 1978), p. 7.

[60]Ibid., p. 8.

[61]Ibid., p. 9.

[62]Eighteith Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan for the year 1916-1917, 1917, p. 100.

[63]Detroit Public School Staff, Frank Cody: A Realist in Education, 1943, p. 163.

[64]Ibid., p. 160.

[65]Columbus, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

[66]Ravitch, op. cit., p. 402.

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